UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/22229
15 February 1991
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ARABIC

NOTE VERBALE DATED 15 FEBRUARY 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT MISSION OF IRAQ TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Iraq to the United Nations presents its compliments to the President of the Security Council and has the honour to transmit to him herewith the text of the decision announced by the Revolution Command Council of the Republic of Iraq on 15 February 1991. The Permanent Mission would be grateful if you would have this letter and its annex distributed as a document of the Security Council.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate,

Declaration issued by the Revolution Command Council

O, glorious Iraqi people,

Noble Arabs,

Muslims, true believers in Islam,

Free and noble people of the world,

Ever since the United States, the Zionists and America's Western colonialist allies have realized that a Power was coming into being in an Arab Muslim country, Iraq, a Power capable of counterbalancing the Zionist hegemony supported by imperialism in the region, a free and noble Power, determined with sincerity and self-denial to confront the aggression and the Zionist ambitions and to reject imperialist domination of the region, the United States, the Zionists and all the colonialist forces full of hatred for the Arabs and the Muslims have begun to take measures and decisions and to launch campaigns of intrigue and incitement against Iraq in order to prevent the formation and growth of this Power, to isolate, contain and punish Iraq because it had, with faith, determination and competence, overstepped the bounds drawn for it by the United States, the Zionists and the colonialist forces of the countries of the region.

In 1988 and 1989 there were constant attacks in the press and media, and on the part of officials in the United States and other colonialist countries, paving the way for the achievement of these wicked aims.

In 1990 these attacks escalated at a feverish and accelerating pace and on an ever-widening scale. The aim was patently obvious to us and to all conscious Arabs and true Muslims, to all free and noble people who believe in freedom and justice in the world. The aim was to prepare for the destruction of this rising Power and to restore predominance in the region to the United States, Zionists and the colonial Powers, this predominance which had for decades continued to prevent the Arabs from recovering their rights and their usurped and occupied territories in Palestine, the Golan and Lebanon, just as it had prevented the Arab nation from achieving its hopes of advancement, progress and justice in order that it might occupy the natural position it deserves in the world by reason of its glorious history and great contribution to human civilization.

During the first months of 1990 these attacks intensified and broadened and acquired a hysterical character. They began to urge daily that Iraq should be attacked and its leadership liquidated, and that it should be deprived of the means of advancement and progress. The United States, together with other colonialist countries, adopted a series of unfair decisions and measures prohibiting the export of everything which might contribute to the development of Iraq, and to its scientific and industrial advancement. These decisions comprised an effective economic boycott, one of the effects of which was the cancellation of foodstuff

contracts in March 1990. It was also clear that the United States was making preparations, in coordination with the Zionist entity, to strike at scientific and industrial facilities and sites and to liquidate the faithful national leadership of Iraq. When the United States discovered that this scheme, which depended to a large extent on the Zionist military capability, was insufficient to achieve its evil objectives, it recruited to the conspiracy its agents and protégés among the corrupt and imperious rulers in the region, the enemies of God.

The role of the latter was to weaken and exhaust the economy of Iraq, and bring it to the brink of economic collapse. At the same time the United States began to reinforce the network of the colonialist alliance in order to set up an American-NATO political and military coalition with the aim of attacking Iraq and gaining control of the region, since it had been afforded the opportunity to do so following the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from world affairs in order to pursue internal matters.

Iraqis,

Arabs,

Muslims,

Free and noble people of the world,

The essence and purpose of the events of 2 August 1990 were not as portrayed by American and colonialist propaganda nor as recounted by the treacherous rulers and followers of America. They constituted a patriotic, national, Islamic uprising against the conspiracy and against the imperious, an uprising against oppression and decadence, against corruption and the imperialist, Zionist and colonialist hegemony over the region, against the imperious rulers, whose role had been revealed in the American Zionist conspiracy. This is why the imperialist Zionist NATO alliance revealed its true aims and intentions from the very first hours of those events. It massed its armies and forces and organized the most evil campaign of delusion, lying and deception the world has witnessed in recent times. This evil, tyrannical imperialist, Zionist, NATO alliance coerced the United Nations into issuing against Iraq, with unparalleled rapidity, a series of iniquitous and unprecedented resolutions. At the same time, this Organization has for decades been incapable of satisfying the simplest claims of the Arab nation and of preserving the simplest rights of the Arabs in Palestine, despite the clarity of the Arab right and the violence of the tragedy endured by the heroic people of Palestine and from which other Arabs suffer, including the oppressed people of Lebanon.

This iniquitous alliance imposed its will on the world, pursued methods of intimidation, blackmail and bribery and employed all the means of viciousness, falsehood and deception in the arsenal of the imperialists, Zionists and forces of colonialism in order to prepare the way for aggression against Iraq.

O glorious Iraqis,

O noble Arabs,

O believing Muslims,

O those in the world who are noble and honourable,

The aggression that has befallen the courageous, proud, combatant, believing and steadfast country of Iraq, has no counterpart in history. In the entire history of mankind, there is no record of the likes of such a coalition, in which there participated the United States, two major Powers and many other States, some 30 in number, against combatant, courageous, steadfast Iraq, whose population does not exceed 18 million. It is indeed an evil, iniquitous, malicious and disbelieving alliance against the stronghold of faith and principle, an alliance against the seat of freedom and the call for justice and fairness. For an entire month, the United States and its allies together with the Zionist entity, which has participated in the aggression from the outset, have been launching savage and devastating attacks against the people of Iraq, against its economic, scientific, cultural and services-related assets and its religious centres and against the country's sites of ancient civilization. History has not seen its like for intensity of fire nor means of slaughter and destruction, launched in the name of the United Nations, a fallacious international legitimacy and the new world order that they intend will be one of United States and NATO hegemony over the world.

The United States and the parties to the evil coalition have delivered, with aircraft that fire their missiles from afar and with long-range missiles, enormous quantities of bombs and explosives against women, children and elderly persons in all the towns and villages of Iraq and even the nomadic Bedouin of the desert. They have struck, in a premeditated manner, mosques, churches, schools, hospitals, civilian factories, bridges and major highways, telephone exchanges, electricity and water installations, irrigation dams, cultural centres and archaeological landmarks in the country. They have struck targets that have no connection of any kind whatever with the military effort or with the arena of the military clash of which they have spoken. The most recent such crime was that vile and heinous crime committed in the deliberate bombing of a civilian shelter, which killed and incinerated hundreds of women, children and elderly persons. The objective of this brutal act of aggression was abundantly clear, and it was to advance the process of destruction that was their intention, and to punish the proud, noble and combatant people of Iraq because it had chosen the way of freedom, independence and honour and rejected humiliation, degradation and subjection to the will of colonialism and zionism.

The United States and its allies have launched a vile and cowardly war against a courageous and believing people. The history and destiny of peoples and nations are not determined by the material possessions of States and ruling regimes. Throughout history, many a strong and wealthy empire has fallen because it adopted the way of shame, cowardice, oppression and dissoluteness. This is the destiny of iniquitous America and its vile regimes, and it is the destiny of zionism and all the forces of colonialism, God willing. Iraq has triumphed in this confrontation. It has triumphed because it has remained steadfast, courageous, believing, noble,

and strong-willed. It has triumphed because it has maintained principles and spiritual values derived from its true religion and its centuries-old heritage. Its losses in terms of material assets in this battle, despite their enormity, are of slight importance when set against its preservation of its resolute spirit, its faith deeply rooted in principle and its strong determination to pursue the road of resurgence and progress.

O noble Iraqis,

O honourable Arabs,

O Muslims ... who truly believe in Islam,

O those in the world who are noble and perceptive,

On the basis of this strongly entrenched feeling and of this assessment of the character of the conflict, in order to deprive the vicious United States, Zionist and NATO alliance of the opportunity to achieve its planned destructive goals, in appreciation of the initiative of the Soviet Union conveyed by the envoy of the Soviet leadership, and in keeping with the principles set forth in the initiative of President Saddam Hussein, announced on 12 August 1990, the Revolution Command Council has decided to announce the following:

I. Iraq's readiness to deal on the basis of Security Council resolution 660 (1990) with a view to reaching an honourable and acceptable political solution, including withdrawal. The first step that must be taken, as an undertaking on Iraq's part with regard to the matter of withdrawal, is linked with the following:

(a) A complete and comprehensive cease-fire on land, at sea and in the air;

(b) That the Security Council should, from the outset, decide to annul its resolutions 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 669, 670, 674, 677 and 678 and all the consequences to which they give rise. Similarly, the annulment of all decisions and measures of boycott and embargo and the other adverse decisions and measures adopted by certain States against Iraq, jointly and severally, prior to 2 August 1990, and which were the true cause of the Gulf crisis, so that matters may be restored to their normal status as if nothing had happened and without any adverse consequences for Iraq for any reason whatever;

(c) The United States, the other States participating in the aggression and all States that have dispatched forces to the region shall withdraw from the Middle East region and the Arabian Gulf region all the forces, armaments and matériel that they introduced before and after 2 August 1990, whether they are on land, at sea, in the oceans or in the gulfs, including the weapons and matériel provided by certain States to Israel on the pretext of the crisis in the Gulf, it being understood that the withdrawal of such forces, armaments and matériel shall take place within a period not to exceed one month from the date of the cease-fire;

(d) That Israel should withdraw from Palestine and from the Arab territories it is occupying in the Golan and in Lebanon, in implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations. In the

event that it should refuse to do so, the Security Council shall apply against Israel the same resolutions that it adopted against Iraq;

(e) The guarantee of Iraq's full and undiminished historical rights on land and at sea in any political solution;

(f) The political arrangement to be agreed upon shall be based on the will of the people in accordance with genuine democratic practice and not on the acquired privileges of the House of Al Sabah. On this basis, national and Islamic forces must participate in a fundamental manner in the political arrangement to be agreed upon.

II. Those States that have participated in the aggression and in financing it shall undertake to rebuild that which the aggression has destroyed in Iraq, in accordance with the highest specifications for each of the activities, projects and installations targeted by the aggression, at their own expense and without Iraq's incurring any financial outlays.

III. Cancellation of all the debts incurred by Iraq, as well as by the States of the region damaged by the aggression which have not participated in it either directly or indirectly, to the Gulf States and those foreign States which participated in the aggression; the establishment of relations between the poor and wealthy States of the region and of the world based on justice and fairness so as to confront the wealthy countries with unequivocal obligations for the achievement of development in the poor countries and for the elimination of their economic sufferings, on the basis of the principle that the poor have a right to the resources of the wealthy; and a halt to the use of double standards in dealing with issues affecting peoples and nations, whether on the part of the Security Council or on the part of one State or another.

IV. To the States of the Gulf, including Iran, shall be left the freedom and the duty to establish security arrangements in the region and to organize relations among themselves without any external interference.

V. The declaration of the Arabian Gulf region as a zone free of foreign military bases and of any form of foreign military presence; and universal commitment to that effect. This is our case, and we have announced it to the world. We have set it forth clearly and plainly to the treacherous and perfidious and their imperialist masters. Our fundamental assurance, having placed our trust in the One and Only God, is in our mighty Iraqi people, in its combatant and valiant armed forces, and in those who have believed in the road that we are taking in resisting oppression and the oppressors. In the coming days, victory over the oppressors shall be assured, just as it was assured in former days. God is most great. May the infamous be driven out.

Revolution Command Council

29 Rajab A.H. 1411
15 February 1991